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for this objection? I think not; and it should be observed that if it were accepted, the remedy would be for the council to elect on to its body a certain number of the statesman class. I think the remedy would be worse than the defect, if defect there is. Statesmen, whether actually in business, or retired from business, have necessarily been trained to be partisans. They have been concerned in diplomatic disputes all their lives, and they must be full of prejudices. Men trained in the great virtue of equity, making impartiality their greatest and life-long ambition, are as perfectly qualified to judge of disputes called "political," as of those of a purely legal character. They are a thousand times better fitted to be judges of any dispute whatever than politicians—who are always "advocates" on one side or the other.

### SUMMARY

#### OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY PEACE CONFERENCE, BERNE, AUGUST 29-31.

Opening Session, 10 A.M., August 29.

There were present 114 members from thirteen different nations.

Mr. Numas Droz, of the Swiss Federal Council, gave the address of welcome, a part of which was as follows:

#### ADDRESS OF WELCOME TO THE INTERPARLIA- MENTARY PEACE CONFERENCE AT BERNE.

BY NUMAS DROZ, FEDERAL COUNCILLOR.

It is to bring into existence, to develop and strengthen a general current of feeling hostile to war that the two congresses which have met in succession in our midst are laboring, and it is for this reason that we have welcomed them with so much satisfaction. The Congress of the Peace Societies which has just closed had on its program a wide range of subjects, bearing upon all the phases of this vast and important problem of the maintenance of peace not only between nations but also within the borders of each nation. Following the principle, as beautiful as it is just: "*Si vis pacem, para libertatem et justitiam*," the peace societies may, with propriety, consider freely all the questions which, in their judgment, have reference to the amelioration of society and to the relations of concord between races and nationalities; they may discuss all the means suited to remove the causes of discord and to render humanity more united, more fortunate and consequently more pacific. Such a purpose, such aspirations are worthy of all honor, and it is with the liveliest interest that we have followed the labors of the Congress just closed. But your Interparliamentary Conference cannot, without disturbance, without danger even, have a program so extended. Though you are not here by official appointment, you have not put off your parliamentary character; on the contrary, you manifest it openly; it is the cause of your meeting together, the symbol which unites you. Consequently your responsibility as members of different parliaments remains intact; it is even increased by the regard which you owe to one another as representatives of different nations, that regard, gentlemen, which, far from costing you any effort, will by its very spontaneousness constitute the beauty and the charm of your meeting.

This situation in which you are placed indicates precisely the nature and scope of your labors. You must keep exclusively on practical ground, must restrict yourselves to a small number of objects easily comprehended and discuss them thoroughly, so that the different parliamentary groups may be able to appropriate the results of your labors and submit them, in propositions already formulated, to their respective parliaments. Such, it seems to me, is the course to be followed, if your Conference is to get beyond generalities and do something toward an effective solution of the problem.

It is possible that, if you proceed in this way, you will meet with more than one difficulty; but you must remember that diplomacy meets with the same difficulties whenever arrangements have to be made of a nature to guaranty peace. Since you are the forerunners of a new era, it is your duty to "prepare the ways" as much as possible. As for myself, I am persuaded that on the day when you shall have come to an agreement in the matter of an international arrangement carefully worked out, and when in fifteen or twenty parliaments at once this arrangement shall have been submitted and warmly recommended by the members of your Conference,—I am persuaded, I say, that at that moment, under the enormous pressure of opinion which will not fail to be produced and to support you, you will be very near the realization of your noble aim.

While waiting for that time (may it come soon), the mere fact of your gathering now for the fourth time in an annual meeting constitutes an imposing demonstration in favor of peace. If your patriotism, as citizens of different countries, has led you to vote for the ever increasing sums asked for for the national defence, your presence here is a strong proof that you are opposed to any employment whatever of these gigantic armaments in an aggressive way, for the purposes of conquest and domination. And you may be certain that you have with you public opinion and the conscience of all.

Beyond this, these annual meetings create between you relations of friendship and esteem which are far from being useless in helping to bring about better relations between peoples. You will inform your parliamentary colleagues and, through the press, your fellow citizens of the favorable impressions which contact with your colleagues of other nations has left upon you. You will carry away from here a more profound sentiment of that solidarity of humanity which the notion of country ought to strengthen and not stifle. And who knows? Gentlemen, some of you will certainly be called some day or other to become a part of the government of your country. You will remember then the friendly relations which you have formed here, and you will consider it your duty to continue them to the very great advantage of the peoples whose destinies you will have to guide.

I salute your meeting, therefore, as the presage of better days for our humanity. Already the initiative which you have freely taken has produced good results. I may mention, among others, the motion of your colleague, Dr. Barth, a member of the German Reichstag, having in view the introduction of arbitral clauses in treaties of commerce, those treaties which fortunately have just been renewed as a precious pledge of peace between most of the nations of the continent. This motion, adopted by the Reichstag, will soon bring about, I hope, diplomatic negotiations in which it will be possible to fix, in a definite and practical manner, the

rules of procedure to be followed and the guaranties to be given for the execution of the arbitral clauses. That will perhaps be a step towards an organization to which may be entrusted later the settlement of other more difficult and extended international misunderstandings.

Gentlemen, little Switzerland is happy to take its part in this peaceful concert. A neutral State, she gladly offered the hospitality of her soil to the Alabama tribunal, to the work of the Red Cross, to the international bureaux of the post, telegraph, railroads, intellectual property; to all those congresses and conferences which tend to bring peoples together, to remove the causes of conflict, to lessen the evils of humanity. It is with pride that her government has been called more than once to act as arbitrator, or to name arbitrators for the peaceful solution of international strifes. To-day she greets, through me, your conference, in which we are permitted to see the promise of future agreements which the wisdom of peoples and of governments shall think it useful to make, and which, without injuring the autonomy of any one of them, will permit them to accomplish together, in the political and social domain, the noble tasks imposed upon them by the solidarity of humanity.

Dr. Gobat, member of the Swiss Parliament, who had been chosen President of the Conference spoke, in part, as follows, on taking the chair:

*Gentlemen and honored colleagues:*

I am persuaded that your gathering here in such large numbers is due in part to the sympathy which all nations feel towards Switzerland. But I feel that the chief cause of your coming in such numbers to Berne is the importance, the nobleness, the grandeur of the purpose which we are pursuing.

The Interparliamentary Conference ought to become an established institution, a wheel in the mechanism which directs the movements of States. It aspires to become such, both by its serious study of the greater international questions, and by the direct, positive and definite action which the Conference should exercise, through the national parliamentary groups, in the midst of the European parliaments, on legislation and international relations. Looked at from any other point of view, the Interparliamentary Conference would have no right to exist. If we should confine ourselves to the expression of timid wishes which would, without doubt, find a hearty response among the nations, but to which governments and parliaments would give scarcely a passing notice, then we should evidently have nothing to do but to give up our existence and ally ourselves with the peace societies, whose noble and generous aspirations I highly appreciate, but which of their own accord have acknowledged their insufficiency, in causing the organization of the Interparliamentary Conference. Parliamentary action, practical results, that, in a word, is the reason for the existence of the Conference.

Is it after all a very bold idea which I am here expressing? Is it possible that the incomparable discoveries and inventions of the nineteenth century have shortened distances, brought the nations nearer together, mingled peoples one with another, for nothing or next to nothing, in the interest simply of commerce and industry, with no

higher ideal in view? What would become of the progress of the world, if humanity as it grows older should remain exposed to the same miseries, the same ravages as in past centuries; if the official representatives of the States of Europe should not be able to act together for the amelioration of these sad conditions?

You might have read a few days ago, in a great journal, that the best means of preventing war is the close alliance of a certain number of States, and that all the peace congresses and interparliamentary conferences will never obtain this result.

To maintain peace by fear is, without doubt, one means, but not a good one. Alliances always contain in them the germ of war, because they inevitably provoke counter-alliances. Furthermore, they impose upon nations ruinous burdens, absolutely incompatible with public prosperity. And the great misfortune is that peaceful nations are forced to assume like burdens. Switzerland, solemnly recognized as neutral by all Europe, obliged to expend for military purposes proportionally more than Italy, is a striking proof that peace by intimidation is an evil.

Another means, therefore, must be found. The peace of Europe, public prosperity, confidence in the future now so profoundly shaken, can be obtained at no other price. This means is international arbitration, a principle of natural right the same as civil justice, adopted and practised even by peoples only partially civilized. You are to examine the propositions which shall be submitted to you on this subject. They will certainly merit your careful attention.

You will notice, gentlemen, that we have made no rules of procedure for our deliberations. Rules gotten up for the occasion are often a net through whose meshes you may drive a four-horse chariot. Furthermore, we all, being members of parliament, know our rules. If we are not a parliament, we know that we must deliberate and carry on our discussions in a parliamentary way, with calmness, with order, confining ourselves strictly to our program. It must be said that all our deliberations have been parliamentary in the best sense of the term. We must avoid, therefore, all careless discussion, all recrimination, all irritating propositions or observations, all useless declamation. Especially let us not seek here any solutions except the fundamental and general one of the consolidation of the relations of the States one to another, which in its turn may lead to the solution of concrete questions. Let us set the example of political tolerance and of international cordiality. Let us labor together without national prejudice, but without feebleness, in the feeling that it is our sacred right and duty to treat the important questions which have brought us together in this hall.

Responses were then made to the address of welcome and to the opening speech of the President, by representatives of the different nations represented.

DR. BAUMBACH, of Germany, spoke of the progress in his country since the Congress at Rome. The historic mission of the German people is one of peace. The questions before the Conference must be treated in a practical way, and what is here decided in theory must be brought practically before the parliaments of the different nations.

BARON VON FIRQUET spoke of the progress of peace sentiment in Austria, and of the importance of the tasks resting upon the Conference.

FREDRIK BAJER, of Denmark, greeted Switzerland as the land of liberty, and said that the first thing to be accomplished is the conclusion of treaties of arbitration.

MR. MARCOARTU, of Spain, compared Spain's former dream of dominion with the present wish of many Spaniards for peace and the welfare of mankind.

SENATOR TRARIEUX spoke for France. Things which were once impossible have become possible today. We are not simply dreamers, but reasoners. If we believe in progress, we must also believe that a day of realization will come. We must work with a feeling of confidence and assurance. We have found our true faith.

HENRY RANDAL CREMER, of England, said that those who initiated this Conference have cause for congratulation, for from forty at Paris in 1889 we have grown to be two hundred strong. Instead of two countries then represented we now have seventeen. There has been a remarkable growth of public opinion, in England especially, where a million and a half of workingmen have signed a petition in favor of a permanent treaty of arbitration with the United States. We have come together to dissipate prejudices. We ought to prepare a resolution asking the nations to join the United States in treaties of arbitration. Our first condition of success is to utilize the discontent existing among the people.

MR. DANIELI, of Italy, said that we are here to get nearer to one another and to try to do away with the distance which separates us.

MR. LUND brought warm greetings from Norway and said that small nations may do something for the general civilization, in the way of art, literature, etc.

MR. RAHUSEN, of the Netherlands, MR. DE PAIVA, of Portugal, and MR. EPUREANU, of Roumania, also presented to the Conference the greetings of the groups which they represented.

A telegram of congratulations and good wishes from the Norwegian government was then read. On motion of Mr. Trarieux the thanks of the Conference and its good wishes were sent to Mr. Steen, President of the Norwegian Ministry.

The President announced that thirty additions to the membership of the Conference had been made during the year.

#### AFTERNOON SESSION.

Vice-presidents were chosen from each of the nations represented in the Conference. It was decided that French should be the official language of the Conference.

The MARQUIS PANDOLFI, general secretary, presented his report for the year. The document contained a somewhat extended study of nearly all the questions connected

with the subject of peace and arbitration. He had found it necessary to make the idea of federation the basis of his study.

DR. BAUMBACH proposed a vote of thanks to MR. PANDOLFI for the devotion and indefatigable zeal with which his labors had been conducted. Passed unanimously.

Papers and propositions on the subject of an international court of arbitration were then presented by HILTY, of Switzerland, HIRSCH, of Germany and TRARIEUX, of France.

MR. HILTY thought that the nations which had signed the Congo Agreement could extend the same principles to their relations to each other.

MR. TRARIEUX made a splendid appeal for the acceptance by the nations of Europe of the invitation of the United States of America to enter into permanent treaties of arbitration. He thought France would not refuse much longer. The United States have no difficulties with other nations. If only a few nations should accept, it would be a great gain.

MR. PASSY was of the same opinion, and called attention to the fact that a proposition on the subject had been introduced into the French Chamber, signed by fifty Deputies.

The propositions were referred to a Committee of five to report the next day.

#### TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 30.

DR. BAUMBACH, Vice-President of the German Reichstag, presented a paper on the subject of "The Protection of Private Property on the Sea, in Time of War." His argument was that if war cannot be wholly avoided, it may be rendered more humane.

MR. DE BOISSERIN, a French Deputy, strongly opposed DR. BAUMBACH's resolutions. War is wholly wrong, according to our program. We ought not, therefore, to try to regulate it, to say what arms should be used, etc. Our enemies would accuse us of virtually conceding what we professedly deny.

MR. RAHUSEN, seconded by Messrs. Barth and Epureanu, proposed that the Conference limit itself to the proclamation of the principle of the inviolability of private property on the sea in time of war. After an interesting debate, participated in by MESSRS. DANIELI, LABICHE, BAUMBACH, STANHOPE, BARTH, SNAPE and DE BOISSERIN, the BAUMBACH resolution was adopted, modified to read as follows:

"The Conference invites its members to try to induce the parliaments to which they belong to invite their governments to get recognized, by an international conference, the principle of the inviolability of private property on the sea in time of war."

## TUESDAY AFTERNOON.

The subject under discussion was: "Clauses of Arbitration in Treaties of Commerce."

DR. BARTH, editor of "Die Nation," introduced the subject, inviting the members of the Conference to try to secure the insertion of arbitral clauses in treaties of commerce which shall be submitted, for ratification, to the parliaments to which they belong.

MR. MAZZOLENI proposed to add "treaties of navigation and extradition."

MR. PASSY desired the addition of "treaties of protection of industrial, literary and artistic property."

MESSRS. NOCITO, DANIELI, PANDOLFI, SIEGFRIED, MARCOARTU and VAN HOUTEN took part in the discussion. MR. MAZZOLENI withdrew the part of his amendment having reference to extradition as not germane to the subject. The resolution of DR. BARTH, with the two amendments, was passed unanimously.

The committee appointed the previous day to study the resolutions of MESSRS. HILTY and TRARIEUX on the subject of international arbitration reported in favor of giving the Hilty resolution to a special Commission for one year and of adopting the TRARIEUX motion in the following modified form:

"Whereas, the United States of America have proposed the formation of treaties of arbitration to the various governments of civilized nations which might be willing to form them;

"Whereas, treaties of arbitration seem to be one of the most efficacious means of securing peace between the different nations of the world;

"Resolved, therefore, that the members of each of the parliaments represented in the Conference be invited to lay before the assemblies of which they are members propositions having in view the acceptance by their respective governments of the proposal of the United States respecting the formation of general treaties of arbitration between the said United States and other countries willing to enter into them."

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

The Marquis Pandolfi then introduced the following resolution on the subject of "A Permanent International Conference for the Study of International Questions:"

"Whereas, peace in Europe, an indispensable condition of civilization, demands, as a durable basis, justice and a union between the nations;

"The Conference expresses the wish that the governments of the civilized nations institute an international Conference, in which shall be studied the best means of maintaining peaceful relations between them."

The resolution, after some discussion, was referred to a special Commission for a year.

## WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 31.

A vote of appreciation was passed to Mr. Michel Revon for his recent work on "International Arbitration."

A telegram was received from the Prince of Stahremberg, member of the Austrian House of Lords, expressing his strong sympathy with the Conference.

DR. GOBAT then presented articles of incorporation for a permanent bureau of the Conference, to be called "Interparliamentary Bureau of International Arbitration," to be composed of five members, to be located at Berne and to serve as a central organ for the different parliamentary groups. After some discussion and some slight amendments the articles were adopted and the Bureau founded.

## WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

The closing session of the Conference met at 3.15 P.M.

After the appointment of the members of the Interparliamentary Bureau, Dr. Clark of England raised the question as to the standing of those who had previously been members of the Conference but were not now members of parliament. After some discussion, in which Messrs. Clark, Passy and Rathier took part, it was decided by a large majority that all ex-members of parliament who had previously been members of the Conference should have the right to remain such.

MR. MARCOARTU, of Spain, then developed the following proposition:

"As a reaffirmation and extension of the principle of neutralization already recognized, established, practised and sanctioned by experience, before, during and after war in the Suez canal,

"The Conference declares that isthmuses, straits and submarine cables ought to be neutralized, and invites its members to propose in their respective parliaments, resolutions calling for the adoption of this principle as a precept of international law."

On motion of Mr. Pirquet, this resolution was referred to the Interparliamentary Bureau for consideration during the year.

The Conference then decided to hold its next annual meeting at Christiania, and after resolutions of thanks, etc., adjourned.

President Carnot, of France, recently said at a banquet at Poitiers:

"The country is anxious for that peace which will enable all parties to give their attention to the reforms demanded by the working classes, and which can only be carried out under its influence. It behoves us to crown the work of our fathers by opening for the country a new era of peace and concord. Are you willing that he who is now addressing you shall continue this work for a long time to come. (Cries of 'Yes, yes!' and loud applause.) I am deeply touched by that wish. Permit me, however, to set aside whatever it may contain of a personal nature and to retain merely the patriotic sentiment by which it is inspired. The country desires concord, liberty and peace, and believes that the Republican world will be able to preserve those benefits for it."